

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MOSCOW 12127 01 OF 02 281905Z

41

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-02 INR-07 IO-10 L-03

NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-04 PRS-01 SAJ-01

SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 DODE-00 NSC-05

ACDA-05 CU-02 /086 W

----- 123170

R 261328Z AUG 75

FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3788

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARAI

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMZMBASSY ATHENS 411

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

USMISSION USBERLIN

AMEMBASSY BERN

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDPEST

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMZMBASSY HELSINKI 1230

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMCONSUL LENINGRAD

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURGI

AMEMBASSY MADRID

USMISSION USNATO

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY ROME

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MOSCOW 12127 01 OF 02 281905Z

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY VALETTAI
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MOSCOW 12127

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (TEXT)(PARA 2)

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, CSCE, UR, US
SUBJ: CSCE: IMPLEMENTATION

REF: STATE 191457

1. THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT HAS MADE IT POSSIBLE FOR US TO APPROACH THE SOVIETS ON A RANGE OF PREVIOUSLY MORE OR LESS INTRACTABLE ISSUES WITH SOME PROSPECT OF ACHIEVING FORWARD MOVEMENT. IN ORDER TO VALIDATE THE PATERNITY THEY CLAIM FOR THE CSCE PROCESS AS A WHOLE, THE SOVIETS HAVE AN INCENTIVE TO GIVE THE APPEARANCE OF RESPECTING THE PRINCIPLES ENUNCIATED AT HELSINKI. SINCE HELSINKI, MOSCOW HAS BEEN INSISTING THAT IT INTENDS TO FULFILL ALL THE PROVISIONS OF THE FINAL ACT AND HAS RESTATED THIS INTENTION IN RECENT DAYS AT THE HIGHEST LEVELS IN CONTACTS WITH AMERICANS (BREZHNEV AND PONOMAREV WITH CODEL ALBERT, KOSYGIN WITH GOVERNOR SANFORD). GIVEN THEIR OBVIOUS PREFERENCE FOR RANK-ORDERING CSCE COMMITMENTS TO DOWNPLAY UNCONGENIAL ELEMENTS SUCH AS HUMAN RIGHTS, WE TAKE THIS TO MEAN THAT THE SOVIETS ARE COMMITTED TO CSCE AS A FOREIGN POLICY SUCCESS, BUT ARE PROBABLY UNCERTAIN AS TO HOW THE SPECIFICS OF IMPLEMENTATION SHOULD BE HANDLED.

2. AS SEEN FROM HERE, THIS COMBINATION OF CIRCUMSTANCES PROVIDES SOME LEVERAGE FOR THE U.S. WE THEREFORE WELCOME REFTEL INSTRUCTION CONCERNING CSCE IMPLEMENTATION. AS DEPARTMENT AWARE, WE HAVE ALREADY REFERRED TO CSCE RESULTS TO SUPPORT OUR DEMARCHE CONCERNING MULTIPLE-ENTRY VISAS FOR U.S. JOURNALISTS AND OUR PRESENTATION OF CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MOSCOW 12127 01 OF 02 281905Z

REPLIST 17. WE ARE ALSO BEGINNING TO COMPILE INFORMATION OF SOVIET IMPLEMENTATION OF CSCE PROVISIONS IN ANTICIPATION OF SPECIFIC REPORTING REQUIREMENTS TO BE ESTABLISHED (PARA 4A REFTEL). BEYOND THESE STEPS, HOWEVER, WE BELIEVE THIS IS THE MOMENT TO EXPLOIT WHAT MAY BE NON-RECURRING LEVERAGE TO INITIATE A CAREFULLY MODULATED AND MANAGED PROGRAM OF INITIATIVES VIS-A-VIS THE SOVIETS WITH CHANCES OF REAL IF MODEST PROGRESS. THIS MESSAGE IDENTIFIES

POST-CSCE STEPS WE FEEL WOULD BE USEFUL COMPONENTS OF SUCH A PROGRAM.

3. WITH REGARD TO IMPLEMENTATION, WE SEE TWO POINTS OF PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE.

4. FIRST, WE BELIEVE MAIN INITIAL THRUST OF CSCE IMPLEMENTATION ON OUR SIDE SHOULD BE BILATERAL. IN OUR VIEW, COORDINATED WESTERN ACTION WILL BE MOST EFFECTIVE IN CASES WHERE THE COORDINATING COUNTRIES HAVE A COMPARABLE INTEREST IN THE ISSUE AT HAND. HOWEVER, CSCE COUNTRIES WILL IN MANY CASES HAVE DIFFERENT PRIORITIES, AND THE PROCESS OF IDENTIFYING PRIORITIES IN CAPITALS AND COORDINATING ACTION IN BRUSSELS AND ELSEWHERE WILL NECESSARILY BE PROTRACTED.

WE SEE FOUR AREAS WHERE COORDINATION IS PRACTICALLY MANDATORY: GERMAN ISSUES, CBM IMPLEMENTATION, FOLLOW-UP (EVENTUALLY), AND MONITORING IN PREPARATION FOR THE 1977 BELGRADE MEETING. ON OTHER ISSUES, HOWEVER, AWAITING THE RESULTS ON THE COORDINATION PROCESS COULD WELL RESULT IN MISSED OPPORTUNITIES AND PROVOKE THE MISTAKEN IMPRESSION IN EASTERN GOVERNMENTS AND WESTERN PUBLIC OPINIONS THAT THE WEST IS NOT SERIOUS ABOUT IMPLEMENTATION. THEREFORE, WE WOULD RECOMMEND THAT EACH WESTERN GOVERNMENT, INCLUDING OURS, HAVE THE OPTION OF BEGINNING IMMEDIATELY TO USE CSCE RESULTS IN ITS BILATERAL DEALINGS WITH THE EAST, AS WE HAVE ALREADY DONE.

5. SECOND, AFTER COMPARING THE TEXT OF THE FINAL ACT WITH THE SKEIN OF OUR BILATERAL AGREEMENTS WITH THE USSR, IT IS OUR IMPRESSION THAT CSCE RESULTS RELEVANT TO SITUATIONS HERE ARE MAINLY IN THE HUMAN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 MOSCOW 12127 01 OF 02 281905Z

RIGHTS AND POLITICAL AREAS (BASKETS III AND I). IN OTHER AREAS, WE BELIEVE WE SHOULD BEGIN IMMEDIATELY TO REFER TO RELEVANT CSCE PROVISIONS TO SUPPORT NORMAL REQUESTS FOR IMPROVEMENTS, BUT IT WOULD APPEAR THAT WE HAVE A BETTER CHANCE OF ACHIEVING PROGRESS IN OUR DEALINGS WITH THE SOVIETS BY REFERRING TO AND WORKING WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF OUR BILATERAL AGREEMENTS, WHERE MUTUAL OBLIGATIONS ARE USUALLY MORE TIGHTLY DRAWN THAN IN THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT.

6. WE SUGGEST EXAMINATION OF THE FOLLOWING AS URGENT ISSUES IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS AND POLITICAL AREAS.

7. IN THE FIELD OF TRAVEL AND HUMAN CONTACTS, THERE

ARE SIX PROBLEM AREAS WHERE SOME PROGRESS MIGHT BE
ACHIEVED BY DEMARCHES REFERRING TO FINAL ACT
PROVISIONS.

(A) FACILITATION OF TEMPORARY VISITS FOR NON-
BUSINESS AND NON-SCHOLARLY PURPOSES, THROUGH ACTION ON
VISTORS' VISAS, EXIT AND ENTRY PROCEDURES, AND TRAVEL
CONTROL REGULATIONS (LANGUAGE OF FAMILY, PERSONAL OR
PROFESSIONAL TRAVEL, TOURISM, YOUNG PEOPLE AND SPORT IN
HUMAN CONTACTS PROVISIONS.);

(B) IMPROVED CONSULAR ACCESS MAKING THE POINT
THAT THIS LANGUAGE DOES NOT RESTRICT THE SCOPE OF
CONSULAR SERVICES NOR LIMIT THEM TO SENDING COUNTRY
NATIONALS (LANGUAGE ON PERSONAL OR PROFESSIONAL TRAVEL
UNDER HUMAN CONTACTS);

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MOSCOW 12127 02 OF 02 261633Z

44

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-02 INR-07 IO-10 L-03

NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-04 PRS-01 SAJ-01

SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 DODE-00 NSC-05

ACDA-05 CU-02 /086 W

----- 082097

R 261328Z AUG 75

FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3789

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

USMISSION USBERLIN

AMEMBASSY BERN

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDPAPEST

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMCONSUL LENINGRAD
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG
AMEMBASSY MADRID
USMISSION USNATO
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MOSCOW 12127 02 OF 02 261633Z

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY VALETTA
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 MOSCOW 12127

(C) FACILITATION OF FAMILY REUNIFICATION, NOTING THE PRACTICE OF SUBMITTING REPLISTS AND THE AMBASSADOR'S REFERENCE TO THE TIMELINESS OF THE FINAL ACT WHILE PRESENTING REPLIST 17 (LANGUAGE OF FAMILY REUNIFICATION AND MARRIAGE UNDER HUMAN CONTACT);

(D) DISCUSSION OF IMPROVED WORKING CONDITIONS FOR JOURNALISTS, EXCLUDING MULTIPLE-ENTRY VISAS BECAUSE IT HAS BEEN RAISED OFFICIALLY ALREADY (LANGUAGE ON JOURNALISTS IN INFORMATION PROVISIONS). WITH REGARD TO THE PROVISION OF EASING IN-COUNTRY TRAVEL BY JOURNALISTS "ON A BASIS OF RECIPROCITY," WE COULD STATE OUR WILLINGNESS TO DO SO AND PROPOSE DISCUSSIONS CONCERNING MODALITIES;

(E) PROVISION OF AT LEAST A ONE-TIME EXIT VISA FOR OUR EXCHANGEES WHO VISIT HERE FOR LONGER PERIODS (LANGUAGE ON EXIT AND ENTRY PROCEDURES FOR PERSONAL OR PROFESSIONAL TRAVEL UNDER HUMAN CONTACTS); AND

(F) PROVISION OF ONE-YEAR, MULTIPLE-ENTRY VISAS FOR U.S. BUSINESSMEN, REFERRING TO US-SOVIET LONG-TERM ECONOMIC AGREEMENT AS WELL AS CSCE LANGUAGE ON COMMERCIAL EXCHANGES, BUSINESS CONTACTS AND FACILITIES, AS WELL AS TO EXIT AND ENTRY PROCEDURE LANGUAGE UNDER HUMAN CONTACTS (SINCE HELSINKI DOCUMENT DOES NOT EXPLICITLY TREAT ISSUE OF VISAS FOR BUSINESSMEN).

8. IN EACH OF THE ABOVE CASES, EXCEPT FOR EASING IN-COUNTRY JOURNALISTS' TRAVEL, WE WOULD SUGGEST MAKING CLEAR TO THE SOVIETS BOTH OUR UNDERSTANDING THAT THESE PROVISIONS ARE SELF-IMPLEMENTING AND THE SERIOUSNESS WE ATTACHE TO POST-CONFERENCE SOVIET STATEMENTS OF INTENTION TO FULFILL ALL THE HELSINKI PROVISIONS.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MOSCOW 12127 02 OF 02 261633Z

9. WE WOULD ALSO PROPOSE DEPARTMENT'S CONSIDERATION OF AN APPROACH DESIGNED TO ASSIST AMERICAN EXPRESS AND THE AIRLINE CHARTER COMPANIES, INCLUDING PANAM, BASED ON LANGUAGE IN BASKET II, 6., ON PROMOTION OF TOURISM.

10. IN THE POLITICAL FIELD, WE SEE THREE AREAS WHERE RAPID ACTION COULD BE USEFUL:

(A) DEVELOPMENT IN WASHINGTON OF TWO PACKAGES OF GUIDANCE FOR MEDIA AND THE FIELD. THE FIRST, ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND CONTACTS, MIGHT INCLUDE AND EXPOSITION OF OUR VIEWS CONCERNING IMPLEMENTATION AS A TEST OF HELSINKI'S MEANING, THE FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCES IN PHILOSOPHY AND WORLD OUTLOOK WHICH CONTINUE TO DIVIDE EUROPE, AND THE INTERRELATIONSHIP OF ALL THE HELSINKI PROVISIONS, FOLLOWED BY A DETAILED PRESENTATION OF OUR VIEWS AND PRACTICES CONCERNING BASKET III ISSUES. THE SECOND, ON THE SO-CALLED "BREZHNEV DOCTRINE," MIGHT COLLATE THOSE ELEMENTS AMONG THE BASKET I PRINCIPLES WHICH TOGETHER CONSITUTE A WESTERN REBUTTAL INTO A SINGLE PRESENTATION, TAKING CARE TO AVOID EMPHASES WHICH MIGHT PREJUDICE OUR INTERESTS ON GERMAN ISSUES. BOTH PACKAGES COULD SERVE AS GUIDANCE FOR EXTENSIVE DISCUSSION OF CSCE RESULTS IN OUR OWN MEDIA, INCLUDING VOA. IN ADDITION, THE FIRST COULD ALSO FURNISH THE THEME FOR AN ISSUE OF AMERIKA MAGAZINE, TO BE PUBLISHED AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, FEATURING A COVER SHOWING PRESIDENT FORD AND BREZHNEV SIGNING CSCE DOCUMENTS AND NON-POLEMICAL FACTUAL RUNDOWN STRESSING OUR INTERPRETATIONS. SECOND, PACKAGE, WE BELIEVE, COULD SERVE AS GUIDANCE FOR SUCH DISCUSSIONS OF CSCE RESULTS AS MAY ARISE IN NORMAL COURSE OF BUSINESS BY OUR EMBASSIES IN EASTERN EUROPE.

(B) ISSUANCE OF AN INVITATION TO THE SOVIETS TO SEND OBSERVERS TO A MILITARY MANEUVER, PURSUANT TO APPROPRIATE CBM LANGUAGE ON EXCHANGE OF OBSERVERS. ISSUE OF EXCHANGE OF OBSERVERS AT MANEUVERS HAS SOME PREHISTORY IN OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS AND WESTERN

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 MOSCOW 12127 02 OF 02 261633Z

INVITATIONS IN NEAR FUTURE SEEMS TO US FAIRLY PAINLESS WAY TO PREEMPT THE KIND OF SOVIET EFFORT TO COOPT THE CREDIT FOR CBMS SUGGESTED BY SURPRISING EMPHASIS ON THEM IN PRAVDA'S AUGUST 20 CSCE COMMENTARY.

(C) ADDITIONAL THOUGHTS ON POSSIBLE USES OF CSCE RESULTS IN MBFR WILL BE SET FORTH IN A SEPARATE MESSAGE.

11. WITH REGARD TO HIGH-LEVEL PROSENTATION S OUTSIDE THE HUMAN RIGHTS AND POLITICAL AREAS, COOPERATION IN EDUCATION, CULTURE AND INFORMATION SEEMS TO OFFER THE MOST PROMISING FIELD FOR NEW INITIATIVES. WE WILL BE SUBMITTING SUGGESTIONS IN THESE AREAS IN A SEPARATE MESSAGE. IN THIS AREA, IT WILL BE PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT TO FORMULATE PROPOSALS IN A RECIPROCAL CONTEXT, SINCE THE SOVIETS ARE MUCH MORE LIKELY TO ACCEPT EXPANSION OF CONTACTS IF THEY HAVE SOMETHING CONCRETE TO GAIN THEMSELVES. THIS REQUIREMENT SHOULD PRESENT NO LARGE PROBLEMS IN THE AREAS OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE, BUT THE DIFFERENCES IN OUR SYSTEM AND PUBLIC ATTITUDES CREATE FORMIDABLE PROBLEMS IN THE INFORMATION AREA. WE WOULD THEREFORE URGE THAT THE DEPARTMENT AND USIA REVIEW THE QUESTION OF WHAT STEPS THE USG COULD PROPERLY TAKE TO FACILITATE DISTRIBUTION OF SOVIET INFORMATIONAL MATERIALS IN THE U.S. IN RETURN FOR IMPROVED DISTRIBUTION OF U.S. MATERIALS IN THE USSR.

12. IN THE AREA OF TRAVEL, BEYOND THE URGENT ISSUES IDENTIFIED ABOVE, WE WILL BE PROPOSING TO THE SOVIETS, WITH REFERENCE TO 1.(D) UNDER THE HUMAN CONTACTS RUBRIC OF BASKET III, THAT THE TWO SIDES TAKE UP THE EARLIER SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR A REVIEW OF CONSULAR MATTERS AND THE U.S. PROPOSAL TO INCREASE NUMBERS OF PORTS OF ENTRY AND EXIT, WITH A VIEW OF CONCRETE IMPROVEMENTS.

10. IN SUM, THERE ARE GROUNDS FOR MODEST HOPE THAT THE SOVIETS CAN BE BROUGHT TO MAKE MARGINAL BUT REAL IMPROVEMENTS IN THE HUMAN CONTACT AREA. HOWEVER, WE BELIEVE THAT IT IS IMPORTANT TO MOVE PROMPTLY TO UNDERLINE THE SIGNIFICANCE WE ATTACHE TO SOVIET CSCE IMPLEMENTATION IN THE CONTEXT OF OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS. THE ONSET OF THE PRE-CONGRESS PERIOD IN THE USSR, WHEN SOVIET BUREAUCRATIC ELITES ARE ENGAGED IN POLICY REVIEW, MAY ALSO BE A RELATIVELY GOOD
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 MOSCOW 12127 02 OF 02 261633Z

TIME TO SUGGEST CHANGES IN VARIOUS BUREAUCRATIC PRACTICES

IN LINE WITH THE FINAL ACT. IF OUR APPROACHES ARE CARE-
FULLY HANDLED, I AM CAUTIOUSLY OPTIMISTIC THAT REAL PROGRESS
IS POSSIBLE.
STOESSEL

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLICIES, COLLECTIVE SECURITY, SUMMIT MEETINGS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 26 AUG 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: izenbei0
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975MOSCOW12127
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750298-0642
From: MOSCOW
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750818/aaaaapjo.tel
Line Count: 389
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 8
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 75 STATE 191457
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: izenbei0
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 09 APR 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <09 APR 2003 by Izenbei0>; APPROVED <24 SEP 2003 by izenbei0>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
06 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CSCE: IMPLEMENTATION
TAGS: PFOR, UR, US, CSCE
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006